CHARACTERS OF PARTIES IN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

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LONDON,

PRINTED FOR J. ROBSON, NEW BOND-STREET;
G. ROBINSON, PATER-NOSTER-ROW;
AND J. SEWELL, CORNHILL.

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AN ENQUIRY INTO THE CHARACTERS OF THE PARTIES IN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

THE objects which at preſent occupy the attention of the Britiſh nation are great and important; they are, its liberty, its power, its exiſtence. The revolutions of other nations have been gradual, and the cauſes which produced them ſlow in their operations. The revolution which threatens Britain, ſeems rapid in its advances, and the producing cauſes of it are obvious and ſtriking.

The moſt ſlight compariſon of Great-Britain, with any free nation, whoſe liberty is expired, will furniſh a clear, but a melancholy inference. Rome was at firſt a village, having no reſource but war; bravery was a neceſſary virtue. The Romans began with ſubduing their neighbours, as poor as themſelves---then Italy---then the poliſhed world. It was not till the progreſs of the Roman empire was moſt rapid, that the ſeeds of its fall began to ſwell: it ceaſed to cheriſh the patriotiſm which had reared the republic; the ſtruggles of patricians and plebeians for rights were over; it began to foſter the partizans of political leaders; theſe leaders turned the Roman arms againſt Rome; the ſenate became the pageants of deſpots, who divided, and then ſubverted the moſt venerable monument of ancient glory.

Great-Britain is at preſent a ſingular political phænomenon. It is true, her government was formed by the gradual

promulgation of equitable laws, by the abolition of eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, by a revolution, from abſolute to limited monarchy; but the rapidity of her fall is unexampled. Some of the ſtateſmen, many of the citizens, numbers of the veterans, who planned, who ſupported, and who executed the ſchemes, that exalted the empire to a great, a reſpected, an envied glory, remain to contemplate the vanity of their patriotiſm, their political wiſdom, and their martial fame. The ſpeculatiſt may trace the cauſes which firſt weakened, and then ſubverted the Roman power, when the patriotiſm, the fire, and the power of the Romans have for ages expired. The practical politician has to contemplate the fall of the Britiſh empire, when the ſources of its glory live in his memory, and the ſources of its diſgrace are before him.

Twenty years have but elapſed, ſince Great-Britain humbled France and Spain —commanded the extended continent

of America—ſubjugated the Weſt-India iſlands—was equally revered and envied for her magnanimity and political wiſdom.—France and Spain, and Holland too, mingling revenge with triumph, *now* inſult over falling Britain—America is independent of her—half of her Weſt-India Iſlands are loſt. If the magnanimity of her veterans, if her martial high ſpirit remains, her political incapacity is felt by her dejected citizens, and ridiculed by her inſulting foes. The ſtateſmen, and the parties who have been engaged in theſe fatal ſcenes, turn their talents from the public to their own illiberal ſchemes. The people feel the fatal reverſe in their national ſituation, bear accumulating taxations with ſullen patience, hope for relief from innovations, from events: with an honeſt, a natural indignation, they aſcribe their diſgraces, their calamities, their very deſpair, to the obſtinacy of ſome, the ſervility of others, the temerity, the incapacity of many: they are diverted from the real

ſources

ſources of their evils, and from the adequate means of reſtoring the public character, by the dangerous or impractible ſchemes of raſh and inexperienced innovators; mean while, the enemies of their country, numerous and united, form wiſe and concerted plans, and atchieve frequent and important conqueſts. There are men who hear theſe diſgraces with a devoted triumph; they obtain offices but to add to the liſt of diſaſters: profeſſions of their ability to procure an equitable peace, gave them the ſuffrages of the people, who now perceive and reſent the diſhoneſt fraud. There is but *one premierſhip*, there are many candidates: the diſappointed, becauſe they cannot rule, reſolve to ruin. They are again to harangue for changes in the government they knew not how to preſerve: they are again to be the allies of our enemies, by diſtracting the councils of the nation: they are again to ſeek offices and titles, the vain and melancholy memorials of venality and public perfidy.

Amid theſe national convulſions, the citizens of their country may probably aſk, "What are the characters of par-" ties in the Britiſh government, and " how far have their peculiar princi-" ples contributed to the riſe or fall of " the empire?"

The man who would anſwer this demand, muſt have obſervation and candour. If he can point out the true characters of the different parties: if he can diſcriminate from objects of private intereſt and ambition, ſuch as are truely national, and fix upon theſe the attention, the judgment, and the paſſions of his countrymen; if he can perſuade them to relinquiſh idle ſchemes of reform till they are ſure of a country to preſerve, he will have a reward which no loſs or acquiſition of fame, can either enhance or deſtroy.

The influence of parties in raiſing or diſtreſſing the government, is obvious and intereſting; obvious in the perpetual

perpetual ſtruggles for power; intereſting in the conſequences which have marked thoſe ſtruggles.

The enquiry into their character, muſt proceed on a plain narrative of facts: the concluſions from theſe facts muſt not be ſpeculative theories, but ſolid deductions; they muſt not be held up to ſerve a party, or promote an innovation. He is worſe than a mean man, who can be the tool of a party. Innovations in a government, which defines and defends the rights of citizens, as they are uncertain in their conſequences, may increaſe the evils they ſcheme to eradicate.

perpetual struggles for power; interfering in the consequences which have marked those struggles.

The enquiry into their character, must proceed on a plain narrative of facts: the conclusions from these facts must not be speculative theories, but solid deductions; they must not be held up to serve a party, or promote an innovation. He is worse than a mean man, who can be the tool of a party. Innovations in a government, which defines and defends the rights of citizens, as they are understood in their consequences, may increase the evils they endeavour to eradicate.

OF THE PARTIES IN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

PARTIES take their characters from the ſpirit of the governments in which they appear—They have different objects in abſolute and free ſtates—In an abſolute government they terminate in the death of the tyrant, in the ſubverſion of the tyranny, or in the ruin of the party. Here, therefore, they can have no permanent character—— They may ſpring up at different periods; they may have the ſame objects, but they muſt uniformly have ſimilar terminations— Sultans die by the hands of their minions— Pretorian bands made and unmade emperors; but when conſpirators were detected, their deſtruction was ſudden and complete; and the

the chains which bound the ſlaves, were doubled and rivetted.

If a monarchy is mixed in its nature by a deſcending ſeries of ranks, birth unites with ambition in aſpiring to the offices of the ſtate—Parties are here formed, to ſupport the claims of the different pretenders to offices of dignity and truſt—The conteſts and animoſities of the leaders are diffuſed among their adherents—The ſubſequent feuds and wars ſometimes terminate in conferring abſolute power on a limited monarch, ſometimes in transferring the ſovereignty to the ſubordinate branches of the conſtitution. The revolution in Sweden, made the King abſolute; the revolution in the Netherlands, made the Dutch free *. In monarchy, parties change their characters with the character of a prince, or the political ſituation of rival ſtates. Louis XIV. made all parties ſubſervient to his ambition—Louis XV. was guided by minions, prieſts, and miſtreſſes—Louis XVI. owes his ſucceſſes to the ill-fated animoſities of the parties in the Britiſh nation.

* Sheridan's Account of the late Revolution in Sweden. Hiſt. de Prov. Uni. per Le Clerk, 10.

The

The parties in Great-Britain may be ranged under the titles of the *Monarchical* and *Republican*. Though theſe parties may have been guided by the principles of intereſt or affection *, they have aſſumed very different aſpects from events that were accidental, and from the changing political objects of the people. Whenever parties degenerate into eſtabliſhed factions, there has been a tendency to a revolution in the government; wherever the aſcendencies of parties have been fluctuating, the prerogative of the crown, or the claims of the people, have become more defined. The aſpects of theſe parties have been as different as their names, of *Yorkiſts* and *Lancaſtrians*, *Round Heads* and *Cavaliers*, *Whigs* and *Tories*. The government was for many years changing in its character—The early influx of foreigners, the Roman conqueſt, the ſlow but continued ſtruggles for rights, the introduction of arts and commerce, the eſcape from prieſtly thraldom, all operated to nurſe and ſupport parties; till at laſt the Republican ſchemed, and the Monarchical aſſiſted, in effecting an abſolute revolution in the government. In

* Mr. Hume's Eſſay on Parties.

common

common life, the opinions in favour of parties are dictated by prejudices; in ſpeculations, by hypotheſis which more refined prejudices engender. To be dupes neither of vulgar nor refined prejudices, we muſt view the ſucceſſion of events, which have foſtered ſentiments favourable to liberty or to kingly power, and deduce from them the real character of the *parties*, who have figured in the revolutions of our country.

1. *The Roman and Saxon eſtabliſhments in Britain, furniſh the firſt aſpects of parties in the Engliſh government.* If Britain was reduced to be a Roman province, the magiſtrates of Rome protected the towns of Britain — When the Roman arms could no longer guard this diſtant frontier, the letters of abdication, ſent by the Emperors, were addreſſed "*to the cities of Britain* *." The forms of the Roman municipal inſtitutions had given birth to, or been engrafted on, the

* When Britain was under the protection of the Romans, the towns were computed to be ninety-two in number, among theſe thirty-three were cities, diſtinguiſhed by their ſuperior privileges and importance. *Zoſimus*, vol. vi. p. 376. 383. *Gibbons*'s Decline and Fall of the Roman Emp. vol. iii. p. 274. 278.

local

local forms of theſe incorporations — They had annual magiſtrates, a ſelect ſenate, and an aſſembly of the people. When the Romans left theſe cities to be independant petty ſtates, the adjacent diſtricts ſought the protection and juſtice of their magiſtrates. The Britons were in this ſituation when the Scots and Picts made their inroads. Barbarians invade for plunder, not for conqueſt. A people accuſtomed to depend on foreigners for their defence, were eaſily defeated and deſpoiled. They thought of mercenaries when they were too poor and barbarous for this refinement. The Scots were driven back to their deſerts, but the Britons became the ſlaves of their new allies, the Saxons.

The Saxon eſtabliſhment ſeems not to have changed the national character, though it gave new maſters and new forms: the circumſtances attending the conqueſts of the Saxons, ſeems to account for this conſequence. The Gothic nations, who ſettled on the Continent, were numerous, their eſtabliſhments ſudden and extenſive, and the powers of their leaders underſtood. The tribes of Saxon depredators, who invaded Britain,

were

were comparatively ſmall in number, and the power and the ranks of their chiefs changing and uncertain. Each of the kingdoms of the heptarchy had its chiefs and elders. Four hundred years were required to form an extenſive monarchy in Britain. The firſt conquerors on the Continent eſtabliſhed extenſive monarchies *.

The ranks which appear in the Saxon monarchy, exhibit the national opinions reſpecting *liberty* and *monarchy*.

The King was the commander in war, and the chief magiſtrate in peace: his revenues aroſe from his eſtate or barony: this was narrow or extenſive, in proportion to his inheritances and conqueſts; the number of his vaſſals was proportioned to his barony.

The Nobles, or Thanes, were petty chiefs poſſeſſed of landed property: their vaſſals were originally their kindred, and they themſelves frequently degenerated into vaſſalage.

The Clergy were introduced originally by zeal for religion: the paſſions of barbarians

* Hume's Hiſt. Eng. vol. i.

could

could only be addreſſed by the objects and forms of devotion: to continue the impreſſions from theſe objects, they muſt ſucceſsfully approach the imagination. The prieſt who had the keys of heaven in his hand, it was preſumed, was an infallible guide on earth. The prieſt from his knowledge ſoon became a counſellor: with power the Clergy acquired property; uniting the characters of prieſt and proprietor, they rivalled the lay barons in authority, and forming a branch of the conſtitution, ſoon rendered it dependant on papal mandates.

The peaſants were the followers of the conqueror, from the hopes of plenty in a new ſettlement. They derived their ſubſiſtence from their ſituation and dependence on their chief—without arts, they followed his ſtandard to battle. Though oppreſſed themſelves, they delighted in oppreſſing the vanquiſhed. Their only ambition was to acquire rank under the banners of a chief, or a place in his houſehold.

The artificers were few, for a rude agriculture ſupplied the few demands of a ſimple people:

people: ingenuity is not exerted till wants are felt; foreigners by offering new objects, created a desire for them. Artificers multiplied towards the end of the Saxon government; the villages in which they lived were protected by the king, if in his barony; by a lord if in his barony: by degrees, they acquired the privilege of making by-laws for themselves. Cities and magistrates thus rearose; if formerly they were distinguished by the protection of the Romans, they had now their foundations in the improving objects of the people.

These ranks explain the institutions which followed. The insular situation of the Saxon monarchs, could not secure them from the invasion of foreign free-booters, or from the attacks of their neighbours, the Scots and Welsh. A people who had acquired their settlements by conquest, necessarily formed a ready militia. Their military arrangements were conformable to their situation: divided into tythings, every village chose its officer. Ten villages were united under the hundredor; several hundreds under the alderman or earl. As every tything

pro-

protected its own members, they were anſwerable for the crimes committed: whether the deciſion was that of the tything, hundred, or county, it was that of equals; hence probably juries. Thus judicial as well as legiſlative powers, were intruſted to the counties. By degrees theſe offices became hereditary. If the officers of the different diſtricts met to preſerve order, the thanes of the different ſhires aſſembled in their wittenagemote, or national aſſembly. The members were great proprietors, whether laymen or churchmen. The chief branches of their buſineſs were, ordering military ſervices, deciding ſuits, and in the end enacting laws *.

A few ſtriking facts thus, of themſelves, ſuggeſt the ſentiments of the nation, reſpecting *monarchy and freedom*. Chiefſhips, at firſt dependant on choice, gradually becoming hereditary and extenſive, afford a deſcription of a monarch with limited powers. On the other hand, diſtricts with internal juriſdiction, deriving their chief authority

* Lord Lyttelton's Hiſtory, reign of Alfred.

from an union with ſurrounding diſtricts, equally free, and a national aſſembly, whoſe members met to regulate eſtabliſhed ſervices, and to decide difficult and public cauſes, ſhew the ſpirit of a republican inſtitution. Though the people were too barbarous to form diſtinct doctrines, reſpecting the rights of the ſovereign and of the people, in their inſtitutions, we diſcover the ſources from which theſe doctrines afterwards flowed.

2. *The Norman eſtabliſhment of the events which gradually formed the Engliſh Government, at the extinction of the Tudors, affords a ſecond aſpect of the principles of parties in the Engliſh government.*

The conqueſt of William of Normandy introduced the feudal arrangements of the continent: politic, as well ambitious, he ſoftened the name of conqueſt, with pretenſions of a legal right to the throne*. But no ſooner was his power eſtabliſhed, than he aſſumed the title of a conqueror. He began with conferring on his Norman followers the

* Hume's Hiſt. of England.

eſtates

eſtates of the Saxons who had oppoſed his claims. Theſe Barons conſidered the feudal tenure as equitable. By the 17th of his reign this ſyſtem, partly by force, partly by fraud, was made general to all the lands of the kingdom, and the great Lords were obliged to ſwear fealty *.

Theſe events made a conſiderable, though not a complete change in the government: they can only be explained by the powers and privileges of the ranks which were introduced. The addition of Normandy to the royal demeſnes, and the forfeitures of the Engliſh Nobility, encreaſed far beyond their antient limits, the opulence and the dependants of the Sovereign.

The ſeven hundred Barons, or immediate Tenants of the Crown, conſiſted of Normans only. In the King, jointly with this body, was reſted legiſlative power.

The ſub-tenants had no legiſlative power: they conſiſted chiefly of inferior Normans, or

* In the 20th of William Doomſday Book was completed. Ib.

of ſuch of the ancient proprietors as had not oppoſed the Conqueror.

The tenants in ancient demeſne cultivated the lands of the King, and inhabited the towns within the royal manors: this claſs conſiſted of Normans in part, but chiefly of Saxons. As William appropriated the lands of the Saxon Monarchs, he retained both the peaſants and the artiſans in the towns. The ſlaves were chiefly the remains of the Ancient Britons, whom the Saxons had reduced to this abject ſituation, or the loweſt of the Saxons, whom the Normans had blended with this unfortunate order. Such were the deſcriptions of men, that in the time of William I. compoſed the Engliſh nation.

The power of William exceeded that of any monarch who had reigned in this iſland —His ſucceſſors inſenſibly conſidered this power as their birth-right and prerogative— The Parliament had their voice in making laws—The powers of declaring war and peace, which had been exerciſed by the ancient national council, were now in the hands of the Sovereign—The King's Baron Court

Court exerciſed judicial powers, though ſubject to the review of Parliament—Military Barons ſoon found themſelves uncompetent judges of multiplying rights, and diſcontinued their attendance on the Court of the King—To this, however, appeals were competent from the inferior Courts of the Barons *.

The prerogatives of the Crown inſenſibly increaſed, till the incapacity and misfortunes of John afforded an opportunity of abridging them. The privileges in the *Great Charter* granted by this Monarch were chiefly exemptions to the Nobility—Such were feudal incidents, the prevention of arbitrary impriſonment, and the trial by jury †. The proprietors were ſo numerous, that their privileges were inſenſibly conſidered as national: it was the object of ſucceeding Monarchs to abridge, of ſucceeding Nobles to preſerve them.

If the abilities and conqueſts of Edward the Firſt united popularity with high prerogative, the riſe of the Houſe of Commons laid the foundations on which the ſubſequent limitations of the Crown aroſe. In the caſe of

* Hume, vol. ii. p. 230. † Blackſtone's Comment.

great taxes the boroughs had been conſulted, and an arbitrary number of their Repreſentatives admitted to plead their cauſe—The Knights and Citizens appear, from the rolls of Parliament, to have met together about the 16th of this reign. The moſt important changes reſulted from this union, in conſequence of which they formed a ſeparate branch of the legiſlature. The power of introducing money bills was veſted in the Commons, while to the Peers were ceded the judicial powers; and on the abrogation of the office of the Grand Juſticiary, the civil, criminal, and fiſcal powers were veſted in the Courts of Common-Pleas, King's-Bench, and Exchequer.

The reciprocal claims of the Houſes of York and Lancaſter to the Throne, and the civil wars which ſupported their rights, inſenſibly enfeebled the monarchy. Sovereigns, whoſe authority was queſtionable, and who ſaw a rival watching to ſeize their Crown, neceſſarily yielded to the pretenſions of their followers and adherents. If the Yorkiſts and Lancaſtrians ſought only to enthrone and dethrone the Princes of theſe families, they evidently

evidently were the arbiters of their Kings: this appears from the different ſituation of the Engliſh Kings, when this unhappy diſſenſion had terminated. The prerogatives of Henry VII. were equal to thoſe of Edward I. The civil wars, in the intervening period, had either weakened or extirpated the families who had raiſed and ruined ſo many Monarchs—Villeinage was aboliſhed—Arts and agriculture had given wealth to the boroughs—The former dependants on the Nobles were now protected by the Crown, and intereſt rendered the people obſequious to the Sovereign. Kings have ſeldom the virtue to reſiſt the temptation of power, more ſeldom the prudence to yield to this temptation with propriety. In the preſent inſtance the Crown aſſumed the prerogative of proclaiming martial law, exerciſed diſpenſing power, and extended to new caſes the hated juriſdiction of the Star Chamber *.

Exorbitant as theſe powers may appear, they ſeem unequal to the revolution in religion which Henry VIII. effected. Of all

* Blackſtone—Gilbert's Hiſtory—Hume's Hiſtory.

prejudices, thoſe in favour of the eſtabliſhed forms of religion are the moſt invincible: their foundations had been queſtioned by men of learning, and the doubts and tenets which were thus ſuggeſted, were inſenſibly infuſing themſelves into the minds of the people—Henry was deſpotic, avaricious, ſenſual, and ſuperſtitious: from the Romiſh hierarchy, he boldly forced that ſupremacy, by which the moſt deſpotic of his predeceſſors were ſubdued; from the Monks, that wealth, which the innate craft and pious frauds of Prieſts had for ages amaſſed; and from the legiſlature its excluſive rights; for he impoſed his proclamations with the force of laws *. He loved and hated, married, divorced, and murdered the unhappy (ſometimes the beautiful and innocent) objects of his capricious appetites; and yet his favourites dared not to remonſtrate, nor the nation to complain. If his ſon reformed theſe abuſes, and renounced the pretenſions of prerogative his father had aſſumed, it was but the ſun-ſhine of a moment. The bigoted cruelty of Mary ſeemed to fill up the miſeries of the nation; and yet theſe miſeries

* Thirty-one Henry VIII.

uſhered

uſhered in the doctrines of civil and religious freedom. The perſecutions of Mary, if on the one hand, they made the Catholics the tools of the Crown, on the other they excited, in the minds of the Reformers, a deep rooted and national hatred of tyranny, civil and religious: if the flame was at firſt latent, it fed on itſelf till its fury conſumed the means employed to extinguiſh it. Elizabeth (herſelf a Reformer) aſcended the Throne with the prejudices of the people in her favour: the * Catholics were devoted to her rival, the beautiful and ill-fated Mary Stuart. Elizabeth ſullied the fineſt talents by an inexorable and cruel heart—That reformation, however, was accompliſhed, which the ſufferings of the people demanded—The Catholics, in their turn, were now deemed Heretics, and the Court of high Commiſſion made an Inquiſition for trying them: its authority, in a leſſer degree, extended to Non-conformiſts among the Reformers. The enquiries into the foundation of the eſtabliſhed religion, neceſſarily engendered diverſity of opinions—If the eye ſlowly pierced the gloom of ſyſtem which hung over the laws of na-

* 1 Ed. VI. cap. 12.

ture,

ture, how much more ſlowly could it diſpel the prejudices of ſuperſtition, which ages had collected! Pure as religion is, its truths unveil themſelves to the moſt candid with unequal certainty—The opinions of the diſtinguiſhed reformers incorporated ſects *; and the abettors of theſe ſects mingled their enquiries into religious with thoſe into civil liberty—Favourable impreſſions reſpecting both began to diſtinguiſh the independent Commons—Many of them had become Preſbyterians and Independents—The former, if they renounced ſecular affairs, conſidered religious ſervices as under their care, and independent of civil authority; the latter conſidered all authority in religion as uſurpation and tyranny; both were deemed non-conformiſts, and excluded from many privileges which the adherents to the Engliſh church enjoyed. Several events now occurred to diffuſe the ſpirit of liberal enquiry: the rapid encreaſe of the woollen and coarſe linen manufactories created a general induſtry †; the revolution in the Netherlands had encreaſed the demands for Engliſh manufactures, and

* Calviniſts, Lutherans, &c.

† Anderſon's Hiſt. of Commerce.

ſhewed

ſhewed what the love of rights can ſtruggle with and obtain *; the commerce to the new world was leading to inveſtigations in the natural ſciences, that improve the arts neceſſary for ſuch diſtant navigation and ſchemes; and the beneficial effects of the new Engliſh ſettlements in America were beginning to be felt †.

Elizabeth however preſerved the high prerogative of the crown, by her own talents and thoſe of her miniſters: ſhe had the ſingular good fortune to govern riſing factions; for the confidence of the people ſilenced equally their complaints, and the oppoſition of her enemies.

Such are the events from which we can deduce the more active operation of the principles of liberty and monarchy in our mixed government, and ſee them ripening into doctrines which were to become the badges of eſtabliſhed parties:—The conqueſt of William gave to the Engliſh monarchs an opulence and a patronage which created numer-

* Hiſt. des Prov. Uni. per Le Clerk---Vol. I.

† Bacon de aug. Scien.

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ous dependents on the crown—The Barons, who formed the firſt Parliament, ſupported prerogative, for it coincided with the tenures by which they held their eſtates: the churchmen ſupported prerogative, for they held up their political power as an infallible argument for preferment at St. Peter's altars: —Succeeding monarchs obſerved, and built on theſe advantages. There is a point however in the accumulation of power, beyond which, the ſovereigns of a poliſhing people dare not advance. This paſſed, the ſubject begins to doubt his ſafety, and feels keenly his injuries, and has an imagination that magnifies the objects of his riſing paſſions: if he has arms and property, he has his retainers and his ſtrong holds. There is a ſympathy too which raiſes revenge of injuries to public rights: neceſſity gives to the paſſion the name of Patriotiſm, and changes pretenſions into claims, and claims into rights: prerogative and liberty thus riſe into principles of government, between which the public opinions perpetually hover and fluctuate —The Monarchical party have adherents, in proportion to the talents and ſucceſſes of a Prince; the Republican views open, in proportion

portion to his encroachments and imprudencies—The talents of William formed prerogative; the weakneſs of John kindled the republican fires—The Edwards reſtored prerogative, the civil wars depreſſed it—The extinction of the York and Lancaſtrian factions made Henry VII. abſolute—The fall of the Romiſh tyranny rouſed the feelings of civil and religious freedom—The politic Elizabeth, for a moment, might damp their ardour; but the weakneſs, perfidy, and ſuperſtition of her ſucceſſors, in one inſtance ſubverted, in another eſtabliſhed, kingly power, and made the monarch of Britain but the firſt magiſtrate of a free people. The republican and monarchical parties exiſt in every country, in which the people have a ſhare in the ſovereignty *, for they have their foundations in the feelings of men; but their activity is ſeldom great, till theſe feelings have given riſe to doctrines, and till theſe doctrines are arranged, and ſtated as deductions from the principles of government. It is indeed a paradox in our

* *Optimates* and *Populares* of Rome.—Cic. pro Sext. c. 45.—The Orange and the Louveſtein factions in Holland.—Le Clerk.

hiſtory,

hiſtory, that the appeals to the underſtanding, reſpecting the foundations of civil liberty, ſhould have originated from prieſts, and theſe too prieſts of the church of Rome; but bigotry is paſſion, not reaſon, and whether it perſecutes or argues, it is its own deſtroyer. The ſupremacy cannot be held by kings (ſaid the Romiſh Sophiſts) for religious truſt is derived from God, civil power from the people. The writers on Juriſprudence were beginning to ſtate caſes, where the principles of morality and religion juſtified reſiſtance to civil inſtitutions *:—the doctrines of the reformers abroad, by a ſtrange ſophiſtry, were to defend the prieſts at home: government, ſaid they, is founded on violence or on conſent; violence gives no right, conſent can only delegate what the people poſſeſs, not what is of divine origin—The Exprieſts became tutors in great families; to reſtore their order, they inculcated theſe doctrines with aſſiduity and zeal; they ſaw not that they were forging inſtruments for their own deſtruction. The reformers indeed, with eagerneſs embraced their opinions, but deduced from them, that if civil rights

* Cocceius, Intro.

ſpring

ſpring from the people, they too are the judges of thoſe who govern: for kings, ſhould be the magiſtrates who protect, not the tyrants who oppreſs: the tyranny of kings, and of kings and of prieſts, is equally dangerous and fatal.

The Republican and Monarchical Parties were thus formed in the times of the Tudors, and the foundations laid for the moſt important revolutions in the Britiſh government.

3. *The reigns of the Stuarts furniſh the third aſpect of the principles of parties in the Britiſh government.*

The acceſſion of James to the Engliſh throne, ſeemed to open the proſpect of compleating the prerogative, by the increaſe of dominion; but in the hiſtory of nations, no eſtimate of effects can be formed from probable cauſes. The ſpirit of the Scottiſh ariſtocracy was adverſe to prerogative, and the talents of James were too ſlender either to divert or ſuppreſs the factions which had terrified his predeceſſor. Though Scotland received

received not the feudal ſyſtem by a revolution, like the Norman in England, the great proprietors very early held of the crown by a feudal tenure *.

The Crown vaſſals, whether Laymen or Clergy, in a remote period formed a national Council. The mountainous ſituation of the country, not only formed natural barriers betwixt the Barons, but often prevented the Crown from extirpating its powerful and dangerous opponents. The ſpirit of the Nobility was therefore fierce and uncontrouled. Agriculture and arts could make but ſlow progreſs in a ſoil that was unfriendly, and among men yet barbarians. Though the leſſer Barons and Burgeſſes appeared to have been early in Parliament, the numbers of the latter were inconſiderable even in the laſt Parliaments of James VI. The three eſtates formed but one Houſe, and the Lords of the Articles, who introduced the buſineſs, were ſelected from each of them: in ſuch a ſituation the privileges of the Nobles approached to ſovereignty, and the prerogatives of the Prince, feeble and unequal, leaned to

* Annals of Scotland, by Sir D. Dalrymple.

depen-

dependence*. If the reformation was not ſo early introduced into Scotland as into England, it was attended with more violence and political innovation. The Scottiſh reformers were oppoſed by the Crown; the Crown introduced and eſtabliſhed the Engliſh reformers: the Scottiſh reformers, if they abhorred Popery, deteſted Prelacy; the firſt Engliſh reformers were the diſciples of Prelates †. Such the nation, that was to have the ſame Sovereign with England, and ſuch the principles which animated its political and religious factions.

James no ſooner aſcended the Engliſh Throne, than he gave proofs of a feeble underſtanding and a timid ſoul: he ſaw the allurements, but not the dangers of undefined prerogatives: though a ſophiſt in their defence ‡, he wanted ardor to aſſert the rank of the Britiſh nation in the ſcale of Europe, while his domeſtic oppreſſions were mean and cruel.

With better talents, Charles the Firſt had imbibed the illiberal leſſons of his pedant

* Robertſon's Hiſt. of Scot. vol. i. Craig de feudis.
† Knox's Hiſtory of Scotland.
‡ Εικων Βασιλ.

father, reſpecting *kingly powers*; but the ſpirits of parties were now too high for controul, and the able politics of Richlieu, in France, were employed to divide and enfeeble the Britiſh power.

The claims of the King and of the Commons were exceſſive, and incompatible with each other—Benevolences, forced loans, a diſpenſing power, proclamations with the force of laws, martial law at the will of the Sovereign, were the demands of the King. The declaration of the illegality of theſe prerogatives, together with the rights of bringing in money bills, and of refuſing taxes at pleaſure, were the demands of the Commons. Compliance in the King, was a renunciation of prerogative; in the Commons, of rights; the two parties ripened into inveterate factions; the Court party was compoſed of the Nobility, the dignified Clergy (thoſe ever ready and invariable tools of arbitrary power) and the greater land Proprietors: this party was in general Epiſcopalian. The country party, or the party of the Commons, were compoſed of a few from the preceding ranks, but chiefly of the commercial and artiſan

artiſan orders of the people. This party was, in general, Preſbyterians and Independents. The King's party gave the name of *Round-heads* to their opponents: the country party, of *Cavaliers*, to *their* opponents. In this critical ſituation of national opinions and prejudices, Charles I. acted as if he had neither opponents in the Parliaments, nor enemies in the Field: without the conſent of Parliament he impoſed the duty of ſhip money*, made innovations in the forms of religion in England †, aboliſhed Preſbytery, and introduced Epiſcopacy in Scotland ‡, heſitated, prevaricated, contradicted, annulled the conceſſions he had made to the Commons, loſt the public confidence, and in the end had recourſe to arms, as the laſt argument of a King, who was either to become abſolute, or fall in the attempt. Such was the unhappy exiſtence of this devoted Monarch, whoſe private virtues ſeem hardly compatible with actions that were to enſlave the people he was born to ſhield. But there is a glare in power which magnifies the preſence, yet conceals the nature of its objects—The moſt chaſte eyes can feed on it with a

* 1633.——† 1636.——‡ 1637.

pleaſure which ripens into love; for the imagination faſcinates with its airy nothings, till the fatal precipice awakes to reflection, to anguiſh, and to ruin.

Such was the fate of Charles the Iſt.

The Commons remonſtrated, petitioned, and ultimately refuſed the demands of the King, as inconſiſtent with the rights of the people, whom they both repreſented and guarded; inſiſted on the abolition of the Star Chamber and high Commiſſion; that their conſent ſhould be given to Acts of Convocation *; that a Bill ſhould paſs declaring Parliaments to be triennial; that the conſent of Parliament ſhould be requiſite to the nomination of a ſeat in the Privy Council; that the Lieutenants of Counties, as Commanders of the Militia, ſhould be accountable to Parliament †. The *Round-heads*, who compoſed the majority of the Houſe of Commons, expelled their opponents, followed the orders of the acute, the active, the prudent, the intrepid Cromwell; defeated, took captive,

* 1640.

† Hume's Hiſtory.—Reign of Charles I. and Bill of Rights.

and

and executed their Sovereign. Such was the fatal and cruel extreme of a faction, whoſe love of civil and religious liberty foreboded not the illiberal murder of an enemy who was their captive, and had (at leaſt) been their King. But there is a madneſs of the paſſions, from which their firſt riſings ſeem remote: common injuries arouſed emotions natural, perhaps neceſſary; injuries from a friend form the fixed feeling of revenge; injuries from a Sovereign make revenge appear patriotiſm; the ſame eye which ſees private revenge as a mean crime, ſees public revenge as a great virtue, and recovers not from its delirium till the ſufferings or the death of the objects diſpel the paſſion, but leave the deed to conſcience and reproach. Such was the caſe of the Republicans.

The Commonwealth preſerved the ſemblance, but not the reality of the antient conſtitution. It is true, the two Houſes of Parliament remained, and could enact laws without the conſent of the Protector; but this Protector had his Privy Council, and an eſtabliſhed army of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horſe. With this force Cromwell might

ſupport his faction: there was, however, but *one* Cromwell, and the Republic expired with its Leader. The diſſenſions of the *Round-heads* contributed to their deſtruction; the Preſbyterians ejected from Parliament by the Independents, became friends to limited Monarchy, and united with the Cavaliers in ſcheming the Reſtoration. The Independents were zealots with the authority of law; their power had been too tranſient to permit reaſon or obſervation of life to be the arbiters of their conduct: becauſe then he who was a *Round-head* could not be Protector, he became a Cavalier, and the Reſtorer of Monarchy. The paſſions of the public were as unguided as thoſe of individuals: all party ſpirit evaporated, and in a moment; for the ſame nation who executed a King, for innovating and narrowing their civil and religious rights, with a temerity which their experience ſeemed fitted to prevent, reſtored the ſon to the father's dangerous claims and prerogatives. Scarcely had they time to reflect on the ſecurity and defined character, which the rights of the people might have derived from this return of their allegiance to their ancient Sovereign, when his conduct evinced

their

their thoughtleſs ſecurity. He reſtored Epiſcopacy (perhaps) properly in England, (but if the fixed feelings of a people deſerve attention,) moſt improperly in Scotland. If the perſonal liberty of the ſubject was ſecured by the *Habeas Corpus Act*, we know not whether to attribute this improvement of the conſtitution to accident, or to the character of the Prince, too voluptuous to be deliberately deſpotic.

The parties of *Round-heads* and *Cavaliers*, with a new modification of their principles, re-aroſe, under the titles of *Tories* and *Whigs*. —The *Round-heads* and *Cavaliers* were parties from principle, the *one* inclining to the Republican, the other to the Monarchical part of our government *: they blended the high but oppoſite notions of the epiſcopals and independents, reſpecting the forms and doctrines of Religion, with their opinions reſpecting civil power. Each of them had his ſpecific enthuſiaſm †. — The *Tories* and *Whigs*, at their firſt appearance, were the parties of the Prince and of the people— The Tory maintained the *indefeſible right*

* Hume's Eſſay on the Parties of Great Britain.

† Hiſtory of England.

of the Prince, and the *paſſive obedience* of the ſubject; the Whig maintained, that the right of the Sovereign was meaſurable, by his conformation to the laws; and that the obedience of the ſubject was due to the laws of their country, and to the king, as its firſt magiſtrate. The extreme of the one party, is abſolute power in the King; the extreme of the other, is ſovereignty in the people. The experience of the late convulſions of the nation reſtrained either party from exceſs: they ſeemed to lay aſide exact conformity to their principles, and to meet each other with a moderation which eſtabliſhed parties have ſeldom exhibited.

The character of James II. and the innovations which his ſuperſtitious madneſs projected, induced the majority of all parties to forget leſſer evils, and make the ſafety of the nation their leading object. Though James had his private virtues as a King, he was politically baſe: he avowed not only *his indefeſible right* to the high prerogatives to which his father had falllen a ſacrifice, but was ſuperſtitious to the madneſs of attempting the re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholic

forms.

forms. The Tories and Whigs were alarmed at his politics; Prelates, Preſbyters, and Independents, equally deteſted his bigottry. The Whigs invited the Prince of Orange to be their deliverer—The Tories acquieſced in the invitation, and had no inconſiderable ſhare in inducing the Prince to undertake his expedition: James, when he ſaw the ſtorm gathering, inſtead of the prudence which prepares for the danger, or the calm courage which baffles its rage, thought, becauſe it was diſtant, it would diſſipate; becauſe its approaches were ſlow, its evil was uncertain.—When its collected power drew aſide this momentary deluſion, inſtead of the frantic courage, which periſhes in averting deſtruction, he yielded to the inferior feelings of a little mind; was angry or timid, vindictive or ſubmiſſive, as the incidents of the moment affected him; till at laſt, with a ſingular puſillanimity, he fled from the throne of a great nation, to the cell of a monk; there to reflect on his fallen greatneſs, and endure the voluntary mortification of an aſylum from the rival enemy of his country *.

* Hume's Hiſt. vol. viii.—Sir J. Dalrymple's Mem.

The

The ſituation of the Prince of Orange was new and difficult; but his knowledge of factions was formed amid thoſe of his country *, and he could diſcriminate the objects and tempers of the people he was deſtined to govern. The Whigs he ſaw were jealous of their rights, the Tories of the Whigs: the ſame party wiſhed to conſider him as their deliverer only, and the inſtrument of reforming the government; the Tories to conſider theſe characters as the harbingers of a more permanent dignity. With an eye that ſaw all his greatneſs and all his dangers; with a love of rights, which diſpaſſionate poſterity delight in revering, he choſe the line that was moſt honourable for himſelf, and reputable to the nation. The Whigs propoſed, the Tories dared not but acquieſce, in his becoming King; but he wore the Crown, with conditions which it was the glory of a free people to beſtow: the Royal Proclamations were not to have the force of laws; the diſpenſing power was relinquiſhed; the army and navy were to be annually voted by Parliament; the civil liſt expences were to be

* The Orange and Louveſtein factions.

ſeparated

ſeparated from the public revenue†, which laſt was to be under the inſpection of Parliament; Epiſcopacy was to be eſtabliſhed in England, Preſbytery in Scotland, and the ſucceſſion of the Crown to be in the Proteſtant line. With conditions ſo honourable for a free and a great people to propoſe, and for a brave, liberal, and accompliſhed Prince to accept, that revolution was effected, which gave to the Britiſh nation a government, that equally defines and ſecures the rights of the King and of the ſubject.

The ſtriking events in this important æra of Britiſh ſtory, while, on the one hand, they exhibit the principles on which the monarchical and republican parties acted, on the other they ſhew how theſe principles were improved, by the ſucceſſion of political objects, till both, attempered to their juſt degree, produced the improved ſyſtem of Britiſh government.

The weight of prerogative and the value of liberty, had deſcended through the Saxon and Norman revolutions: the enquiries reſpect-

† The Civil Liſt was ſettled at 600,000 l. per ann.

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ing the true origin and extent of theſe principles had been ſtated and diſcuſſed during the reigns of the laſt Tudors: the Stuarts were defective in the ardor, the talents, and the liberality which the exigencies of the times and the delicacy of their ſituations required: they were fitted rather to foſter than exterminate the Republican faction; while, by an ill-timed and improvident zeal, they alarmed and diſguſted the party, whoſe rank or affections made them monarchical. James I. was timid and pedantic; the one withheld him from boldly attacking his opponents, the other expoſed equally his talents and his rank *.—He ſeems to have lived but to confirm the prejudices of the republican againſt the monarchical faction, and to qualify his ſon to become the victim of their mutual animoſities. Charles I. placed himſelf at the head of the *Cavaliers*, and avowed himſelf the enemy of the liberties contended for by the *Round-heads*—The ſenſe of a common danger removes the inferior diſtinctions of parties—The Preſbyterians had been adverſe to the Independents, but when they obſerved the power of the Crown leagued with

* Works of King James I.

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the Cavaliers, they retained their political principles of liberty, adopted the mode of worſhip and church diſcipline of the Independents, and prepared to reſiſt their rival faction. The attachment thus of the Round-heads to the conſtitution outweighed their peculiar prejudices, and formed in them this fixed principle; that the dependence of a King of England, for pecuniary aids on his Parliament, is eſſential to the rights and ſafety of the people.

The natural antipathy of the Preſbyterians and Independents, returned the moment the common danger was averted. When the Independents excluded the Preſbyterians from a legiſlative view in the Commonwealth, they ruined the faction of the *Round-heads*, and in fact ſubverted a Republic, which was now ſupported by arms, not by the voice of the people. Charles II. was not reſtored by the *Cavaliers* only, but by the coalition with the diſguſted and oppreſſed Preſbyterians. The very names of the factions changed, and a new modification of the ſame principles produced the factions of *Tories* and *Whigs*. The Tories were formed of thoſe who had

ſuffered from the oppreſſions of the *Round-heads:* they preferred (at leaſt in ſpeculation) abſolute Monarchy to an undefined Republic, adminiſtered by narrow and illiberal zealots, and were chiefly Epiſcopalians. The Whigs were formed from the more moderate *Round-heads*, and were chiefly Preſbyterians: they had experienced, on the one hand, the unhappy tendency of an undefined Republic; on the other, the abſurdity of reſtoring monarchy, without defining the rights of the Sovereign and of the Subjects: they were ſolicitous to remove thoſe foundations of civil diſſenſions, which had diſcredited the character, and were checking the growing progreſs of a commercial people.

Parties thus attempered by recent calamities, might have met each others views in reforming and ſettling the conſtitution, had James II. poſſeſſed either liberal views, or a prudent conduct. He wanted not examples of Princes, who by encouraging factions apparently adverſe to their claims, had yet eſtabliſhed their power. The wiſe Princes of Orange ſupported the Calviniſts, though the principles of this ſect tend to a Republic; but

but they formed the majority of the Dutch nation: the Dutch Patriots ſupported the Arminians, though their principles favoured the eſtabliſhment of a Sovereign, and though they were the minority of the people. Barneveldt and the De Witts were murdered, and the Stadthouderate was eſtabliſhed *. But when the mind is poiſoned by the lower prejudices, it is neither to be inſtructed by obſervation, nor directed by the underſtanding. James equally diſguſted all parties, though they were not all equally zealous for a revolution. The Tories, alarmed more for their religious than their civil rights, had certainly a large, if not the largeſt ſhare, in producing this extraordinary event.

In the invitation ſent to the Prince of Orange, their names were more numerous than thoſe of the Whigs. But theſe Tories had no intention to raiſe him to the throne: they conſidered him as their deliverer, not as their future ſovereign; nor was it neceſſary, in their opinion, that he ſhould be the laſt, in order to become the firſt. The Whig party, on the other hand, were re-

* Lettres ſur la Holland.—Tome ii.

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joiced to place on the throne a Prince, whoſe only right, or pretence of right, was derived immediately and avowedly from the people; who received the Crown on the expreſs and poſitive condition of a regular contract; and whoſe talents and worth fitted him to conſolidate that fabric of a free and defined government, which free and independent citizens had projected and eſtabliſhed *.

The expedition of the Prince of Orange to England may therefore, on the one hand, be aſcribed to the fears and jealouſies of the Monarchical or *Tory Party*, reſpecting their religious rights, though the ſecuring their civil rights conſiderably concurred: but his elevation to the throne, is chiefly to be aſcribed to the political principles of the *Whig or Republican Party*, who concluded, that when Kings owe their elevation to the people, they muſt neceſſarily conſider their own title and the rights of the people as inſeparably connected. From principles thus apparently repugnant, and from the accidental coalition of the moſt oppoſite factions, aroſe that form

* Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. ii. Hume, vol. viii. Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs.

of

of government which has been no leſs the pride of its free ſubjects, than the envy of the European nations. Speculative politicians, whoſe candour might have been narrowed, or liberality checked, by abſolute power, have become eloquent in tracing this ſingular union of the principles of liberty and prerogative; the fatal colliſions of which had hitherto either deſolated or enſlaved the poliſhed world *. If its fall has been predicted by foreigners, our vanity has ſpurned at their reaſonings, as idle and malignant hypotheſis; for it was a truth, of which a cruel experience could only force the belief, that a gallant and free people could ever become inſenſible to their own happineſs — But in the fineſt productions of nature, there is a vigour and a decline: the ſturdy oak not only refuſes to bend to the rudeſt ſtorm, but ſhelters for ages the houſeleſs paſſenger under its branches, and ſeems eternal. At laſt the ſeats of its life begin to decay; they are callous to the food which had reared and made them ſtrong: the canker hollows the trunk, to craſh by its own greatneſs; and leaves the melancholy traveller to remember a ſhelter

* Monteſquieu, L'Eſprit des Loix.

more kind and during than man's: his honeſt feelings curſe the ſtorm that had wrecked his old friend, but heed not the latent corruption that ſwept him away.

Juſt ſo the Britiſh conſtitution—It too is a production in the moral part of nature—It had a vigour; and has a decline—In vain has it, for ages, been aſſailed, by the fury of collected enemies—It ſheltered the ſlaves of deſpots; it ſeemed ſo perfect, that it could never expire—But the ſeats of its life begin to decay, if its legiſlature is callous to public virtue: if its miniſter prefers the acquieſcences of venal ſlaves, to the *honeſt* voices of freemen; if its patriots ſtruggle for power, to *ſpoil*, to *affront*, and to betray their country, *then* the fabric, which the world envied, is doomed a melancholy monument of fallen greatneſs. Should the generous regrets of the nations, whoſe rights it once nurſed and protected, riſe to execrate the cowardly combination of its own ſons, and its old allies, with the inveterate and tyrant foes of mankind, to ſubvert this fineſt fabric of wiſdom; can the corruption, which

accom-

accompliſhed its ruin, be either forgiven or forgotten?

4. *The reigns, ſince the Revolution to the preſent period, exhibit intereſting aſpects of the principles of parties in the Britiſh conſtitution* *.

When King William became ſovereign of the Britiſh empire, it experienced a perfect change, both in its external and internal political œconomy. In the ſyſtem of Europe it now oppoſed the ſchemes of France, of which it had been the penſioned dupe: in its domeſtic polity, the influence of the crown was now employed to confirm the liberties of the people. The parties in the new government retained the names of *Whigs* and *Tories*; but their principles were new-modelled, by their direction, to new political objects. The parties formed at the Revolution retained nearly the ſame character, to the death of G———e II. From that period, a new ſyſtem of adminiſtration ſubdivided the *Whig* party, into the adherents to

* Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs.

the Revolution Syſtem, and the Republican Faction.

The events in ſucceſſion, while they ſhew the active exertions of parties, will beſt qualify us to decide on their intrinſic merits and ſervices.

The politics of King William are explained, by attending to his character, his ſituation as Stadtholder, and as King of Great-Britain. Nature gave to the Prince of Orange talents fitted for difficult and public ſcenes; acute in diſcriminating characters, prudent in ſelecting means, and fruitful in reſources. He was a man of the world, a ſtateſman and a general, at a period of life when the pleaſures of youth engage, or ſpeculative knowledge is but qualifying other men for active engagements. The death of his father, in contending with factions, left him but a doubtful claim to the Stadtholderate:—The Orange party were numerous; and gratitude never riſes more powerfully into deeds, than when its object calls for protection and ſympathy.

The

The atchievements of the Princes of Orange were the favourite themes of the Dutch nation; and they had a pride in becoming guardians to this laſt pledge of their heroes. The *Calviniſts* foſtered theſe tender and honourable feelings; for they ſaid, (or their conduct ſaid) that the Prince was born to be the father and deliverer of the Republic. The *Louveſtein* faction, chiefly compoſed of the rich citizens of Amſterdam, wiſhed to eſtabliſh a maſqued ariſtocracy; and ſupported by France, traverſed the views of the Prince, leaſt, as Stadtholder, he might diminiſh their influence. The Arminians were of this faction, not from principle, but from averſion to the Eccleſiaſtics, whom the Orange family had protected. The ſchemes of both parties gradually ripened into civil commotions: the De Wits met a fate ſimilar to the virtuous Barneveldt; but the eſtabliſhment of William was more liberal than that of Maurice —Scarcely had that Prince attained the age that other ſoldiers begin to ſerve, when he was called to repel the invaſions of Lewis XIV. Brabant was overrun; Utrecht taken; with limited reſources he checked the progreſs of the conqueror; and if he could not

repair their loſſes, he at leaſt procured relaxation from war to the ſtates *.

This datail opens to us the motives of King William's conduct, when he became the ſovereign of Britain; and marks out the ground taken by the parties in his new kingdom.

A deep-rooted averſion to France, ariſing from a ſeries of injuries, and a conviction, that the balance of Europe reſted on the States and England having but one common intereſt, induced him to form the ſcheme of a war with France, and of ſtrengthening the cauſe by continental connections. The Whigs ſeconded the views of their monarch; the Tories oppoſed them: ſeveral circumſtances contributed to render this oppoſition powerful. The firſt miniſters of William were Whigs: the want of influence in the new government firſt diſguſted the Tories at King William, and then ſoftened down their minds, to pity the misfortunes of the devoted James — His conduct, in ſome degree, ſerved to make this paſſion a

* Lettres ſur la Holland, tom. ii.

principle

principle of their conduct. A weak mind is vain and arrogant in proſperity; in adverſity, dejected and mean—In the imagination of partizans, their common conſequences were miſtaken for patience and greatneſs of ſoul, and had their effect on many of the Tories. In this ſituation William directed his politics, reſpecting Europe, to a continental war; reſpecting Britain, to the ſecurity of his crown, againſt the machinations of the Jacobites.

The reſources neceſſary for a continental war, led to the miſchievous ſcheme of mortgaging the revenues of the nation, to defray the intereſt of a funded debt. The burden, it was argued, was ſmall; the Parliament would be cautious in accumulating the debt of the nation; the reſources of the people would increaſe, in proportion to the depreſſion of France. The Tories declaimed againſt continental wars as expenſive and ruinous, and attempted to excite jealouſies againſt the new government. The Jacobite party in this faction, hoped, in the diſcontents of the people, to find an opportunity of reſtoring a family, whoſe guilt had been obliterated by their misfortunes. Though

theſe ſchemes could not fruſtrate, they embarraſſed and limited the meaſures of the court — The King, to gain a party to his views, who had contributed to his elevation, attempted, by ſoothing the Tories, to blunt the edge of their oppoſition; he thought, that confidence in enemies would make them friends: this maxim may be true among nations; it was falſe reaſoning with regard to factions: with them the mind is made up of prejudices, which education has engendered, and habits confirmed. The power of a ſovereign may force his enemies to be hypocrites in manners; ſelf-intereſt to be partizans in politics: but theſe are the maſks which cover baſe minds, and are worn only by the ſpy or the aſſaſſin. The prudence of the King dictated this falſe policy; his experience ſoon corrected the error—The act of ſettlement, in favour of the Proteſtant line, laid naked the prejudices of the *Tories*, and honoured the principles of the *Whigs*. On this baſis the *Whig* reſted the permanency of his liberty; to the *Tory*, it was a freſh wound given to monarchy and the unfortunate James. The triumph of the *Whigs* inflamed their opponents; the inſult of the *Tories* ſunk

into

into the ſullen diſcontent which waits the moment of revenge; and the death of the King foreboded its approach. The characters of the *Whigs and Tories*, after the Revolution, is here but a deduction from their conduct: a Whig conſidered the ſovereignty to be veſted in the three eſtates of Parliament, and the King to be the hereditary firſt magiſtrate of the people, bound by his coronation oath, to maintain their defined and eſtabliſhed civil and religious rights: a *Tory* conſidered monarchy to be poſſeſſed of diſtinct prerogatives, and the right of the Stuarts to be *indefeſible*; but that they ought to *grant* the civil and religious freedom of the people.

The Miniſters of the late reign continued for ſome time to be thoſe of Queen Anne; for the continental war was begun, and the title to the Crown was connected with the influence of the party, whoſe ſuffrages had carried the Act of Settlement. The extenſive alliances too of the late King, had in view, beſides the principal object of a continental war, a powerful guarantee of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion of the Britiſh Throne. The ſplendor

dor of the Duke of Marlborough's victories induced him (though ſuſpected of being a Tory by principle) to promote the politics of the Whigs—In the Soldier the love of military glory ſuperſeded the prejudices of the Stateſman—His victories gave him the confidence of the Queen and the admiration of the people. He dictated to the Miniſters in Britain and Holland, and in the field the allies followed his orders as if victory had hung upon his ſingle arm. The expences of the war began to chequer the pleaſures of triumph, and to weaken the influence of Marlborough and the Whigs—The Tories, with art and aſſiduity, foſtered theſe diſcontents. They ſaid, "The Whigs had, in 1706, obtained the object of the grand alliance, by reſtoring the balance of power between the Houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon; that the ambition of Marlborough and the ſchemes of the *Whigs* had continued the war, when it had no object; that from 1706 to 1711, it had coſt the nation *thirty millions* *; that the very means of reſtoring the balance in Europe would be deſtroyed by exhauſting the reſources of the nation." The Queen liſtened to theſe ſug-

* Lord Bolingbroke's Works.

geſtions,

geſtions, diſmiſſed her *Whig* Miniſters, and followed the counſels of the *Tories*: "the Parliament (ſaid they) is made up of factious *Whigs*; diſſolve it, a new one will be more obſequious; make peace with France; Marlborough's victories have made him too great; Holland muſt acquieſce in the wiſdom of your terms." Theſe advices were liſtened to by the Queen, and deſcribe the events which followed: ſecret negociations are opened with France; if a general peace cannot be effected, a ſeparate one with England was propoſed; the victories of Marlborough, which had coſt thirty millions, and recovered the barrier, were waſted in this moment of inconſiderate prodigality; the peace of Utrecht is concluded; the unequal efforts of the Dutch to maintain their conqueſts, terminate in their acquieſcence in a treaty, the injuſtice of which has not yet been effaced from the memories of their nation.

Theſe events had manifeſt conſequences—To the French Court they again gave the aſcendency in Europe; to the *Jacobites* the hopes of re-eſtabliſhing the Stuarts. Whether Queen Anne had formed any fixed

ſcheme

ſcheme of reſtoring her father's family is problematical; the probability is ſtrong that ſuch a ſcheme exiſted. The Queen's Miniſters were of the Tory faction, and the death of the young Prince her ſon was an event, which, by depreſſing the ſpirits of the mother, might weaken the patriotiſm of the Queen—Affliction engenders ſympathy, and recals thoſe tender ſcenes which the judgment ſeemed to have effaced—It is a common feature of the heart in private life, and circumſtances account for it in a Sovereign, who was a woman.

Though the affection of the Queen might have ſecretly ſhielded her father's family from indigence, the clemency of her ſucceſſor was doubtful: it requires a great mind to be merciful to a rival and an enemy. If theſe feelings did exiſt, the *Tories* were afraid to improve them into deeds, for the *Whigs* were the majority of the people. Though the *Tory* Miniſtry might corrupt members in the legiſlature, yet they could not but foreſee that ſucceſs depended more on deliberate management than precipitate action. In this criſis of national liberty, the death of the

Queen

Queen blaſted the hopes of the *Jacobites*, and enſured the removal of the *Tory* Adminiſtration: the Elector of Hanover was proclaimed, and the *Tories*, knowing the delicacy of their ſituation, were ſolicitous to wipe out ſuſpicion by an exceſs of zeal for their new Sovereign.

George the Firſt was prepared for his new ſituation; the *Whigs* had fully inſtructed him; intereſt connected him with this party; his title to the Crown, and their claim of rights, reſted on the ſame foundation; he was only the next heir of the *Stuarts* in the *Proteſtant line*. To him the Coronation was a ratification of the Revolution and Act of Proteſtant Succeſſion. If King William, who was ſupported by the *Whigs* from principle, and by the *Tories* from neceſſity, avowed his title to be derived from an *expreſs contract with the people*, this was doubly requiſite in his Hanoverian ſucceſſor. The *Whigs* ſupported him from principle, for they conſidered his elevation and the ſecurity of their rights to be inſeparably united; the *Tories* ſeemed to have forgotten their ſufferings; many of them had become

become *Jacobites*, and viewed the preſent Sovereign as an uſurper.

The education of the new King, and his natural anxiety for his German dominions, led him to embrace the politics of King William, reſpecting continental alliance. If his animoſities againſt France were not at firſt ſo violent as thoſe of his benefactor King William, they were ſoon rendered ſo by an open attack on his Crown, in favour of the Pretender. This introduces to our notice the rebellion in 1715, and the ſtriking difference betwixt the *Tories* in England and in Scotland.

At the revolution Epiſcopacy was continued in England: the Engliſh Clergy therefore, both at that time, and at the Hanoverian acceſſion, were induced by intereſt to ſupport theſe new eſtabliſhments. In Scotland Preſbytery was reſtored, and the Epiſcopal Clergy ejected from their dignities and livings. From ſituation, therefore, they were *Jacobites*; their religion retained to them, the Epiſcopalians; their own misfortunes they ſeemed to forget, and only lamented the unexampled

unexampled ſufferings of a Prince, who was the laſt deſcendant of Scottiſh Kings, who never would have permitted his independent inheritance, by a farce of an union, to become a province to its old rival.

Theſe topics were admirably ſuited to a people as yet attached to feudal ideas and chieftainſhips, and who are ſingularly violent in the religious tenets which they embrace. In Scotland, therefore, the *Tories* were almoſt all Jacobites, and all of them Epiſcopalians or Catholicks: a *Whig* and a *Preſbyterian* were nearly ſynonymous terms. It was among the *Scots Tories*, therefore, that rebellion was moſt eaſily kindled, for they were fitted to be the deluded victims of French politics: the Prieſts, however, conſidered the conſequent forfeitures and executions as ſo many martyrdoms to recommend the juſtice of their cauſe, and painted them as cruelties, which only the Uſurper and his *Whigs* could have inflicted. Theſe were the ſeeds which matured into a ſecond inſurrection.

The ſuppreſſion of the rebellion confirmed the title of the King, and the adminiſtration of

of the Whigs. The country party who oppoſed the Court were not Tories, though frequently joined by that faction. They were compoſed of very different and oppoſite characters; of Gentlemen, whoſe independent fortunes placed them beyond the reach of influence, who were *Whigs*, and watched over the intereſts of the conſtitution; of ambitious men, who oppoſed the Court, that their importance might recommend them to office, and of maſqued Tories, who oppoſed becauſe they deteſted the Court. The great object of the Court politics was by an endleſs train of continental negociations, to balance the French in Europe, and ſecure the diſtrict of Hanover.

The reign of George II. was nearly a continuation of the politics of his father. He was of a keen temper, and had an honeſt heart: educated a ſoldier, he eſteemed bravery the firſt of qualities, and he poſſeſſed it himſelf: he was old enough to remember the ſchemes of the *Tories* in favour of France, and of the *Jacobites* to exclude his family from the Throne. His Miniſtry negociated on the Continent to maintain the balance of Europe,

rope, and ſecure his German dominions and his Crown. If the war in Flanders corre-ſponded not with the hopes of the Court, the unlooked for importance of the re-bellion in Scotland, by weakening the al-lied army, in ſome meaſure accounts for it; though it may, with no leſs truth, be aſcribed to the jealouſies and endleſs and contradictory claims of the allies. If Britain acquired not advantage by the peace, corre-ſponding to the expences of the war, it was becauſe ſhe ſacrificed her peculiar intereſt to preſerve the barrier of the States General and the liberties of Germany, then conſidered to be the beams whoſe movements were to de-cide the balance of Europe.

The new French Cabinet were ſoon diſſa-tisfied with the terms in which their more pacific predeceſſors had acquieſced, and en-couraged attacks on the Britiſh ſettlements in America. Repriſals on their trade followed; the war commenced; the misfortunes which attended the firſt hoſtilities ſunk the credit of the old Miniſtry; the people aſked for the immortal Mr. Pitt; their Sovereign gratified them. The councils of this Miniſter were free as they were wiſe; his conduct was

active and decided; merit alone recommended Officers; diſgrace and puniſhment awaited negligence or cowardice; the confidence of the people poured in reſources on their Miniſter; victories rewarded them; the navies of France and Spain diſappeared; the brave old King had *his darling prerogative*; the ſubjection of his foes, dignity to his people, and extenſion to his empire. He died like a King of England, amid laurels, and with all the affections of a free people.

In this æra of Britiſh glory, his ——— aſcended the T——ne. His birth as a Briton, his youth and accompliſhments called forth the pride, the hopes, and the confidence of the nation: treaſures and ſoldiers bad him lead on to victory—The ſun had ſet, but to riſe with new ſplendor—The Miniſter of his, Grandfather could ſtill direct, and his Britons conquer. The ſoldiers, indeed, were victorious; but the Miniſter was diſmiſſed; he could not be diſgraced: no man, who knew his own talents, would have dared to ſucceed Mr. Pitt. L--d B--te ſoon found himſelf as unequal to carry on the war with glory, as to make peace with wiſdom. The brave old

King

King would have ſcorned the terms: his ſucceſſor would have ſcorned them too; but his Miniſter repreſented the ſufferings of his people from the calamities even of ſucceſsful war, and perſuaded him to ſacrifice his ambition to his benevolence.

This influence over a young and ardent mind ſeems paradoxical, and can only be accounted for by the circumſtances which produced it.

The old K— had thoſe keen paſſions which uniformly accompany a warm heart. If he required uncommon attentions from his family, he deſerved them: the late P—— of W— neglected a trifling punctilio about changing the reſidence of the P--c--eſs: he was forbidden the Court. In this ſituation ſeveral of the *Tory faction* inſinuated themſelves into his good graces, and he entruſted L— B. with a conſiderable ſhare of the education of his ſon. L— B. excelled in thoſe arts and ſciences which demand taſte but little genius, and a leſs comprehenſive mind than is neceſſary to the ſcience of man. The communication, however, of the knowledge he poſſeſſed, accompanied with exceſſive at-

 tention,

tention, ſecured him the early friendſhip, which feelings, not obſervations of life, dictate. Experience may diſcriminate the real character of an early friend, but men of the fineſt judgment and pureſt diſpoſitions have the moſt permanent affections: open and liberal themſelves, they are above ſuſpicion, and have their experience formed by the misfortunes their credulity has induced. It is this view which we muſt take of his M——y in his firſt choice of a Miniſter—The nation was *then* accuſtomed to glory—Diſgraces were new to the people, and they bore them with impatience. When they ſaw a *Tory* Miniſter patch up a mean peace, as an epilogue to a glorious war; when this diſgrace too could be traced to the, at leaſt ſuſpected, adverſaries of the houſe of H——r, the turbulence and licentiouſneſs of the people frightened the Miniſter, and induced him to retire from public view, leaving a contraſt as the fineſt embelliſhment of L—d C——m's virtues.

Had the miſchiefs of L— B— been confined to his tranſient adminiſtration, great as they were, they might ſoon have been repaired and obliterated: but he had ſtudied politics

politics in ſpeculation. He never ſeems to have deduced what was practicable in the Engliſh nation, and left the following fatal ſcheme with his S——n: A *ſelect Junto* ſhould be formed, who may plan and carry on the public affairs, in which the voice of the K--g* ſhould be ſupreme. A Miniſter ſhould be choſen to be the *agent* of this *Junto*, to be diſgraced if he ſhall dare to think for himſelf. To conciliate the *Whigs*, thoſe troubleſome demagogues of the people, the *omnipotence* of Parliament ſhould be held forth, but the influence of the Crown and the wealth of the nation ſhould be employed, to ſecure the dependence of both Houſes on the *Junto*, not on the *oſtenſible Miniſter*. By this *cunning ſcheme* the K--g himſelf would govern, and yet the nation believe they were free.

With this precious ſyſtem of *miniſterial-craft*, and theſe patriotic views, did this profound politician retire from the helm to watch the conduct of the *Pilots in ſecond*, and govern with honourable ſecurity. The wiſ-

* i. e. Lord B—'s voice.

dom of this ſyſtem a few ſtriking but melancholy events will illuſtrate.

The Member for A—— and afterwards for M——, as a man, was profligate; as a Senator, an opponent of the Court. The foundations on which the conſtitution reſted, muſt be ſapped to give importance to Mr. W. by honouring him with the nominal revenge of his S——n, whoſe feelings as a K— ſhould equally have ſcorned the falſhood and meanneſs of Mr. W.'s aſperſions.

The dignity of the C——n muſt next be humbled to influence the forms of law, that an inſignificant Printer might be puniſhed: the calumnies of a news-paper, by Gentlemen of all parties, would have been conſidered as licentious and unimportant.

Becauſe a Ch———r dared to deliver his free opinion on a conſtitutional queſtion, he muſt ſuffer an honourable diſgrace. Of theſe domeſtic grievances the nation complained to their S——n; but the natural benevolence of the M——h was withheld from his people by the *Junto*, he fatally called *his friends*: they

they argued, becauſe ſuch complaints can be ſpurned with impunity, every complaint deſerved and ought to meet the like fate.

The domeſtic reſources of corruption began to be unequal to the demands made on them—Taxation of the colonies was thought a popular and inexhauſtible ſtore——The Stamp Act was made as a firſt experiment—The Americans complained, remonſtrated, refuſed, became tumultuous. The *Junto*, afraid of a foreign war, repealed this act; but obtained a parliamentary declaration, that Great-Britain could tax America. This was at firſt conſidered as an honourable renunciation of an unconſtitutional claim; and, like the title of K—g of F——ce, as an innocent and unmeaning embelliſhment of the ſovereignty. The Tea Act ſoon contradicted this indulgent opinion, which changed into the oppoſite extreme of rage. The Americans aſſociated, and drew up decent but manly Remonſtrances: they laid them at the feet of the T——e; they expected every thing from a M———h, who had often told them, that the happineſs of his people was the firſt wiſh of his heart:

but the Junto perſuaded him to contradict his native benignity, and prefer the forced obedience, to the chearful gratitude of the new world.

The enthuſiaſtic Republicans in America had now their long wiſhed for object—Arms (ſaid they) are the laſt refuge of a people, who have been refuſed rights—The fatal war began!—It ſeems a contradiction in conduct, that the ſame Cabinet, who told the Americans they were to be ſubjugated, ſhould itſelf be unprepared for war: but inſtead of the ardour, the ſchemes, the officers, who could lead on the Britiſh army to victory, that army is left to be forced from the very ſeat of the Rebellion. Preparations for ſerious war indeed follow: an army, ſufficient to extinguiſh the Rebellion, is tranſported over the Atlantic, and a Britiſh General, with the prejudices of his country in his favour, ſent to command it.

The firſt engagement gave to this officer the power of ending the Rebellion: but he conſidered the capture of a ſtrong hold as equal to conqueſt, and the retreat of the enemy

enemy as their diſperſion and ſubmiſſion. A Britiſh General waſtes many campaigns in abſurd and fruitleſs expeditions; expoſed a gallant officer and army to captivity, among the rebels he could have conquered—Like another Anthony, loſes another world; though not for a Cleopatra, nor with the diſintereſted frenzy of that unfortunate ſoldier; and then returns, to ſpend an honourable old age, crowned with thouſands—not with Laurels.

His ſucceſſor too was brave; it is not ſaid that he was covetous. He too waſtes his fruitleſs campaigns; allows another gallant officer and army to become captive. His friends had votes in the Legiſlature; he too returns alſo covered—not with Laurels.

Theſe events brought on the fate of the *Junto*—The conteſt had hitherto lain between the *Tories* and *Republicans*; the independent gentlemen, who were Whigs, had not uniformly acted with either—They loved their K——g, and felt for the conſtitution; they reſpected the talents, the honour, and the candour of his oſtenſible Miniſter. They could

could never reconcile theſe qualities and virtues, with his *paſſive obedience* to the *Junto*: the criſis of the nation forced an union betwixt the Whig and the Republican Parties. The *Tories* are driven from office; a motly cabinet of Republicans and Whigs is formed, which the Roman virtue of one man could cement only for a day. If the *Tories* had ruined their country, it was reſerved for the *wild Republicans*, to publiſh its weakneſs with its diſgraces—With an unmeaning temerity the Dutch are offered peace—With a humility *new* to the Britiſh nation, the French court are importuned; with an infamy unequalled in the annals of men, a great nation implores the mercy of its revolted ſubjects. "Is it come to this?" Yes:—Britain has now no character, but what the caution, the haughtineſs, and the ſcorn of her enemies give her. The Dutch bid her fight; they dare not treat with her: France will deign to think of her ſubmiſſions; America tells her, ſhe is too contemptible to deſerve a reply.

Such the awful objects which Britons have to contemplate—Let us follow the parties, who

who have acted in these eventful scenes; sift the value of their principles and actions, examine which of them may with most safety be trusted; for the question is not about the elevation of a faction, but the saving of our country.

If the merits of the parties, in this last period of the British government, are to be estimated by the nature of their principles, we must view them in chronological succession. Their principles were nearly the same (as has been described) from the Revolution to the death of George II. From that period they have suffered considerable variations, and these have obviously affected the politics of the nation.

The principles of a Whig, during the first of these periods, consisted in estimating the King as the first magistrate of a people, whose rights he was bound to preserve; the principles of a Tory consisted in estimating the title of the King to be *indefeasible*, and that it was his duty to *grant* their rights to his subjects. The fluctuation of power betwixt these contending factions, was not in itself

inſelf a ſyſtem of decay in the conſtitution; but the means, equally employed by both parties, has at leaſt been a conſiderable ſource of its preſent danger. The Revolution itſelf had inſtructed the firſt miniſters of William, that the Houſe of Commons is the leading branch in the Britiſh Legiſlature. The Lords may withhold their voice, and the K——g his R——l aſſent; but as all revenue begins with the Commons, the frequent exertion of ſuch powers would have been no leſs delicate than dangerous: it was therefore an obvious policy in the court, to ſelect for its Miniſters men who joined national influence with talents for buſineſs. Miniſters of this deſcription could offer their ſervices to the ſovereign with credit; the people confided in them, becauſe both had an equal intereſt in preſerving liberty; the King could confide in them, becauſe his titles and their duty reſted on the ſame baſis.

Miniſters ſoon found, that intereſt and vanity were an overmatch for patriotiſm—Civil and military promotions began to dignify parliamentary power — The infection ſpread, and electors had their inferior promotions,

motions. A ſeat in Parliament, and a voice in an Election, ſoon became a lucrative, as well as an honourable property. Though the K——g had only the Civil and Military Liſt, the Miniſter, as firſt Lord of the Treaſury, could always balance his accounts with the article, *Extraordinaries for ſecret Services*. The wealth of the people thus came to corrupt the Legiſlature they had choſen; and, by a ſimple progreſſion, to corrupt themſelves. The mortgaging of Taxes too, ſeemed to preſent that inexhauſtible ſtore, which neither continental wars nor domeſtic corruption could conſume. Political ſpeculatiſts told the Miniſter, that the increaſe of the national debt would be a ſtimulus to national induſtry, which would neceſſarily bear a proportionable increaſe to the public demands.

With theſe prejudices, *Whig* and *Tory* Miniſters conſidered the corruption of the Legiſlature as an appendage of their office, and the ſure means of rendering their adminiſtration ſpirited and permanent. This creed has uſhered in the old age of the conſtitution.

M——hs

M———hs who wore a crown upon a new title, permitted their Miniſters to enſure it by every poſſible means. King William had to ſtruggle with difficulties which would have overwhelmed ordinary men. He had to manage the *Whigs*, who had been the chief inſtruments in his elevation; and he vainly imagined he could conciliate the *Tories*, who were becoming Jacobites. He had too to bring the nation to his favourite ſcheme of a continental war; and his Miniſters, who were *Whigs*, had to confirm his doubtful friends, by the motives of intereſt.

The *Whigs*, therefore, employed the ſame means of corruption, during the reign of William, which both *Whigs* and *Tories* employed in the reign of his Succeſſor. It is not then the purity of conduct, but the objects of it, which diſtinguiſhes theſe factions. The Whigs, bribed to ſupport the eſtabliſhment of a free government, and in the back-ground of the piece, to indulge the King's ruling paſſion for a continental war; the Tories bribed to reſtore peace, and in the back-ground, to promote the views of France, and reſtore the Pretender. The death of Queen

Anne

Anne eſtabliſhed the *Whig* miniſtry; for George I. followed the politics of his wife predeceſſor King William: — The Jacobite Tories, in revenge, ſecretly negociated with the French court, and became the unhappy dupes of its faithleſs politics. It is not, however, to be concluded, that becauſe the *Jacobites* were *Tories*, that the whole *Tory faction* were *Jacobites*; a belief which ſeems to have been adopted by the *Whig* adminiſtration; for we do not find the Tories either in this, or in the ſucceeding reign, acquiring any important or permanent aſcendancy. If the prejudices of George I. were heightened by one rebellion, thoſe of George II. were inflamed by another The ſufferings and romantic eſcapes of the Pretender, and the fatal exit of his deluded adherents, if they awakened the ſympathy of foreigners, and compaſſion of the moderate *Whigs*, were but the common events of a civil war, in which the victors and the vanquiſhed muſt promiſcuouſly feel. The fall of the Walpole, and the introduction of the Pitt miniſtry, was but a change of men, not of principles. The abilities of Mr. Pitt amply compenſated his admiſſion to power, in oppoſition

poſition to the Court; for he ſoon recovered the German dominions of the King, and was the ſoul of thoſe vaſt ſchemes which excited the ſilent envy of allies, and the confeſſed admiration of enemies. The policy of corrupting the Legiſlature was leſs neceſſary to Mr. Pitt, than even to his *Whig* predeceſſors; for he reſted on the confidence repoſed in him by the people. The pageantry of a peerage might commemorate the approbation of his maſter—The merits of this Stateſman are immortal.

In the eſtimate of the merits and demerits of the *Whigs* and *Tories*, from the Revolution to the death of G———e II. it appears, that the merit of the *Whigs* conſiſted in their placing on the throne a ſovereign, whoſe title was derived from the people, in defining the privileges of the King, and the independent rights of the eſtates of Parliament; and in entruſting the management of the nation to miniſters reſponſible to the public for their conduct.

Their demerits conſiſted in a forwardneſs to engage in continental wars, in which, with

with abſurd prodigality, they ſupported intereſts foreign to the kingdom; and in the eagerneſs with which they adopted the ruinous expedient of borrowing at the expence of poſterity, and exhauſting the ſtrength of the nation, by loading its induſtry with the intereſt of a perpetual and enormous debt.

The merits of the *Tories* appear to have conſiſted in their uniting in the invitation which was ſent to the Prince of Orange, and acquieſcing in his elevation to the throne; and afterwards, in the act of ſucceſſion, in their reſtraining the extravagance of the Whigs in continental expeditions, and checking that extreme of liberty which, by depreſſing the monarchy, had a tendency to annihilate the mixed character of the government.

Their demerits conſiſted in their frequently becoming the dupes of the French court in continental politics, loſing the advantages of ſucceſsful wars by haſty and unequal treaties; and when they degenerated into *Jacobitiſm*, aiming at the ſubverſion of the government.

Theſe are more remote ſcenes. We have now to deduce, from recent events, the nature and value of the principles which have diſtinguiſhed parties in the preſent r—gn.

Since the formation of the *B—te Junto*, parties may be divided into *Tories*, *Republicans*, and *Whigs*.

A *Tory*, under the denomination of a *K——g's friend*, was a partizan of the Junto, and violently attached to monarchy.

A *Republican* was a violent declaimer againſt the increaſing influence of the Crown, and an uniform opponent of *the K——g's friends*, with a view of obtaining their places, penſions, and offices.

A *Whig* was a real friend to the privileges of the K——g, but a ſteady ſupporter of the rights, which the Revolution had procured to the Engliſh nation.

Let us ſuppoſe each of theſe parties to be called before his country—Let us alſo ſuppoſe, no matter how improbably, that each of

of them were candidly to deſcribe his motives, his ſchemes, his actions, his diſappointments, and his preſent ſituation; we may perhaps, from truths ſo plain, be able to arrive at the opinions, which the citizens of this country ſhould form, at the intereſting moment, when the Legiſlature is to decree, whether *Britons* are meanly to ſubmit to the foes they have nurſed, or often vanquiſhed; or, like old Romans, retain their arms, and ſcorn to ſurvive the fall of their country.

A *Tory* would probably deliver the truth in ſome ſuch plain and honeſt language as the following:

" It was the honour of our party to be " entruſted with the important office of in- " ſtructing a S——n in the qualifications " and virtues requiſite for the government " of a great empire. Our firſt efforts were " directed to prevent prejudices in favour " of parties: they narrow the views of a " Prince; they foſter the factions that li- " mit his adminiſtration: the *Whigs* had " made the Sovereigns of Britain dependant " on Miniſters, Miniſters on Parliament,

 " and

" and Parliament on the people. K—s,
" who were foreigners and recently called to
" rule, might from prudence ſubmit to ſuch
" reſtraints. They would have debaſed and
" inſulted a native Prince, who was the
" deſcendant of Kings. As the nation looked
" forward to his virtues and accompliſh-
" ments for glory and proſperity, we adviſed
" our S——n to aſſert his dignity and au-
" thority, not by oppoſing, but by rendering
" the people dependant on Parliament; Par-
" liament on the oſtenſible Agent of the
" Cabinet, and the Cabinet itſelf on his
" confidential Miniſter. No wiſdom could
" foreſee the convulſions which *Republican*
" and *Whig* cabals have produced. Implicit
" obedience was the duty of a *K---g's friend*;
" he was not reſponſible for the ſchemes of
" the Cabinet. If *it* encroached a little on
" the principles of the conſtitution, it was
" to puniſh a ſubject who had inſulted his
" S——n; if *it* puniſhed a Ch——r, it was
" becauſe he had dared to think for himſelf,
" and pronounce what was Engliſh law and
" ſtrict juſtice; if *it* limited the preſs, it was
" to eradicate the diſcontents of the *Whigs*
" in their abſurd appeals to the great Charter

" and

" and Bill of rights; if *it* laviſhed Offices,
" Penſions, and Peerages, it was to gratify
" Legiſlators, who were ambitious, avari-
" cious, and vain. It was not till theſe ſa-
" lutary means *failed*, for commanding the
" unbiaſſed votes of freemen, that recourſe
" was had to the taxation of America. We
" here drew but on the increaſing wealth of
" a people, whom our armies and fleets had
" reſcued from French deſpotiſm: it ſurely
" became not Coloniſts to ſcrutinize *our* ſecret
" ſervices: it was not probable they would
" dare to reſiſt a nation who had humbled
" all her foes: the Quixotiſm of Republicans
" might ſcheme reſiſtance; rebellion would
" but confirm dependance. When the Ame-
" ricans complained of the Stamp Act, we
" repealed it to gratify them in what was
" neceſſary, and only taxed a luxury. To
" permit them to tax themſelves, was to in-
" creaſe the number of Parliaments we had
" to corrupt. When France and Spain gave
" us the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of their
" pacific intentions, we could not but in
" honour believe them; it was neceſſity
" that compelled us to arms. If we aban-
" doned the troops at Boſton to ſeek their

" ſafety at Halifax, we ſent a gallant
" Officer and 30,000 men to cruſh New-
" York. Who could foreſee, that he would
" loſe the great moment of immortalizing his
" fame, and ſaving the Britiſh empire! who
" could foreſee, that any jealouſy could in-
" duce him to abandon an army of his
" fellow Soldiers to a cruel captivity! who
" could believe that he would prefer riches
" to glory, or that the voice of the Legiſlator
" could veil the demerits of the Soldier in
" honourable obſcurity—Did theſe diſap-
" pointments ſhake our ſteady purpoſes?
" did not we ſend another General, related to
" a family with high parliamentary intereſt?
" Who could foreſee, that he too would ex-
" poſe another Officer and Army to capti-
" vity among rebels! Did all theſe misfortunes
" alter our fidelity to the Cabinet? did we not
" follow it in good *report* and in *bad* report?
" did not we follow it in *plenty*, though we
" could *not* in want? It was not till the
" unnatural union of *Whigs* and the *Re-*
" *publicans* diſtracted the Senate and diſ-
" placed the Miniſter, that we left both
" our power and our hopes. This very
" Miniſter now frightened us with his can-
" dour;

" dour: he dared his enemies to inveſtigate
" his conduct: we too well knew that he
" could have ſaid—I was but the Ambaſſa-
" dor of the Cabinet, I was not allowed to
" be the free Miniſter of my country. Had
" my voice been heard, had my honeſt re-
" monſtrances been liſtened to, thoſe fatal
" ſchemes would never have been adopted,
" which have humbled the arms, narrowed
" the territory, exhauſted the reſources,
" doubled the debt, and levelled the honours
" of my country."

If a Republican were to deliver the truth with the ſame candour, he probably might expreſs himſelf in ſuch terms as the following:

" When the ſchemes of the B--te Junto
" threatened the ruin of their country, the
" moſt virtuous Citizens ſaw the neceſſity of
" leſſening the influence of the C——n;
" for its favours were now to be laviſhed on
" the enemies of freemen. Many of the
" *Whigs*, however, were unhappily devoted
" to the Revolution eſtabliſhment, though
" *this* was but the name, not the reality of

" freedom. To render this ſacred pledge
" profitable, as well as honourable, Places,
" Offices, and Honours, ought to be the
" rewards which the people confer on their
" favourites. The obſtinate Revolution
" *Whigs* contended for the privileges of
" the King: we were true Republicans, and
" were to fight for the ſovereignty of the
" people. We began with explaining the
" nature of the Great Charter and Bill of
" Rights, to the acute and wiſe Electors of
" Brentford: we next abuſed L—d B--te
" and the R—l F——y. Did we not even
" execrate the Scots, as traitors and deſign-
" ing villains? and did not we annually im-
" plore the Commons to aſſert their rights?
" Our numbers, indeed, were, at firſt, in-
" conſiderable, but our very enemies re-
" cruited them with their ableſt Orators, and
" that too in the fatal hour in which war
" was decreed againſt the Colonies. It was
" now that we ſaw the true intereſts of our
" country, and the ſalvation of the ſtate,
" depending on the ruin of the Cabinet:
" it was now that we ſaw the ruin of the
" Cabinet alone to be inſured by the diſ-
" graces of our arms: we, therefore, foſtered

" the

" the American rebellion *in* the Senate and
" out of the Senate; we ridiculed and ex-
" poſed the Councils of the K---g; we
" clogged the activity of the Legiſlature.
" Heaven itſelf ſeemed to ſmile on *our*
" ſchemes! The very Generals of our oppo-
" nents were prudent, and cautious of gain-
" ing victories: we warned the nation that
" every advantage their arms obtained, was
" ruin and diſgrace, and we gloried in the
" defeats and captivity of our armies. All
" Europe was ſtruck with our ſpirited con-
" duct; *France*, *Spain*, the very Dutch,
" and all America, declared in our favour!
" At laſt, when our country was on the
" verge of deſtruction, the price of all our
" ſervices was paid. The *Whigs*, who at
" firſt had ſcorned our ſchemes, were
" forced to unite with us againſt the Ca-
" binet, and joined in voting the American
" war, which the *Tories* planned, and *we* had
" ſo ſucceſsfully foſtered, to be ruinous.
" We rewarded them with a ſhare in the
" Adminiſtration, for we never imagined
" they could queſtion our right to rule. We
" had told the Parliament (though we had
" no credentials) that the Belligerent Powers

" were

" were ready to treat with us, for we conſi-
" dered our ſervices as meriting their grati-
" tude. To our friends, the Dutch, we
" offered to reſtore every thing; yet the co-
" vetouſneſs of this nation could not ſup-
" preſs their fears of an invaſion in Flanders.
" The liberality of our negociation in France
" aſtoniſhed that ambitious power. We of-
" fered to yield all the conqueſts, for which
" *Pitt* had toiled and *Wolfe* had died; con-
" ceſſions in the Eaſt, conceſſions in the
" Weſt Indies; all manner of conceſſions:
" Minorca, and even *Gibraltar* (though the
" laſt ground on which Britons rival and
" outſhine their ancient glory) were to be
" yielded to Spain. Theſe offers our enemies
" conſidered rather as the temporary deli-
" rium, than the deliberate ſentiments of a
" nation who ſtill were brave; and inſtead of
" admiring our generoſity, they exulted in
" our confuſion. With a wiſdom unequalled
" among any free people, we ſent a ſecret
" Ambaſſador to the *Rebels*. Our *liberality*,
" we told them, was too noble to conſider
" their independence as the price of peace:
" we confeſſed the wiſdom of their con-
" nection with *their great and good ally*: his
" anceſtors

" anceſtors had been the ſteady and uniform
" abettors of rebellion in Britain, and the
" *known ſupports* of the liberties of mankind.
" We hoped the Congreſs, whoſe firſt views
" we had defended, whoſe ſchemes we had
" cheriſhed, whoſe independence we had
" avowed, would now reward our ſervices
" and confidence in *their* worth. So free did
" we conſider America, that we were ready
" to abandon the *Loyaliſts*, who had ab-
" ſurdly truſted to Britiſh faith, valour, and
" wiſdom; and would conſign them to the
" clemency, which the generous ſoul of their
" cautious Commander felt for an unfortu-
" nate and deſerving Britiſh priſoner. We
" ſcorn (ſaid their High Mightineſſes) the
" ſubmiſſions of the *firſt nation* we ever con-
" quered. The ſervices of years were thus
" forgotten in a moment, though we had
" ruined our country to make ourſelves
" great and them free. This was but the
" harbinger of our misfortunes: we loſt the
" man, whoſe Roman virtue felt too deeply
" for ſuch diſgraces to his country. Though
" a ſucceſſor, fitted for *our* ſchemes, was at
" hand, the *Whigs* yielded to the right of
the

" the K—g to name his own Miniſter: we
" raged! we even threatened to reſign! our
" paſſions were diſregarded, and our reſigna-
" tions accepted. A *Whig* obtained the
" Treaſury, and, with a firmneſs never to
" be forgiven, left us to grow cool at leiſure.
" We had now no refuge but revenge, the
" Weſt——r Aſſ——n, and the approba-
" tion of our own conſciences. Before the
" Parliament ſhall meet we will tell the
" public, in the moſt unequivocal language,
" that the Machiavel of our atchievements
" is poſſeſſed of every private and public
" virtue. His private virtues are contempt
" of dreſs, rough frankneſs, pure actions,
" ſuperiority to facility of manners and to
" intrigue. His public virtues are, hatred of
" the K—g, and, above all, hatred of his
" ſucceſsful rival, and love for America.
" We will oppoſe to this fair picture of virtue
" in human form, our character of the Pre-
" mier; his private vices of cunning, caution,
" intrigue, ſuppleneſs, diſingenuity; his pub-
" lic vices of attempting to preſerve the pri-
" vileges of the K—g; to make a peace, and
" above all to keep us out of office. When

" the P———t ſhall meet, we will invoke
" gods and men to witneſs the honour, the
" advantages, and the immortal fame which
" the nation have derived from our councils,
" our activity, and our ſucceſs."

A Whig, ſhould he deſcribe his conduct with equal honeſty, would, perhaps, uſe ſuch terms as the following:

" It was the honour of our party at the
" Revolution, to eſtabliſh the rights equally
" of the K—g and of the people. We have
" always conſidered the independence of the
" eſtates of Parliament as the ſpirit of the
" government, and the ſource of its proſpe-
" rity. Though the K—g can do no harm,
" the Miniſters of the K—g may; we there-
" fore thought the inſtitution of the Junto
" fatal to freedom. It reduced the Miniſter
" to be a machine in office, which a ſecret,
" or treaſonable, as readily as a wiſe or pa-
" triotic hand might direct. We entertained,
" however, too juſt notions of our Sove-
" reign's rights, to queſtion his title to name
" his own Miniſters: the moments we hoped
" were few, before his wiſdom and candour
" would

" would diſcover this Tory policy to be ini-
" mical to the intereſts of his Crown, and a
" deep wound in the affections of a people
" devoted to the H——n family. Guardians
" of the conſtitution, which our fathers had
" eſtabliſhed, we oppoſed innovations in the
" rights of election: though enemies to the
" vices of the man, we blamed the puniſh-
" ment of the Senator. When a Ch——r,
" and the friend of Lord C——m, becauſe
" he gave a free opinion on a conſtitutional
" queſtion, was diſmiſſed from office, we
" could not but withdraw all confidence in a
" Junto, who were adding to their encroach-
" ments on the legiſlature, a violation of the
" judicial rights. The change of a Miniſter
" could only recall our hopes, not our con-
" fidence: we flattered ourſelves that, from
" his acknowledged merits and honour, he
" would be no leſs powerful with the Cabinet
" than he was in the Houſe of Commons.
" Our oppoſition to the American conteſt,
" ſprang not from the ſpirit of party men:
" it was dictated by the nature of Britiſh
" liberty; a liberty which as little allows the
" ſubject to be taxed without his conſent, as
" to be condemned without the judgment of

" his

" his Peers. If we foreboded thoſe conſe-
" quences, which have divided and deſtroyed
" the empire, like men we felt for the diſ-
" graces of our arms, and were ready to
" revenge them. We, indeed, recommended
" conciliatory meaſures, before mutual inju-
" ries and ſufferings ſhould confirm national
" antipathy and hatred: we dreaded the
" change introducing into the political
" ſyſtem of nations, by the uſe of a rival
" power, prepared to be the inſtrument of
" France, in wreaking her vengeance on his
" ancient rival. But when America declared
" her independence, when her alliance with
" France was publicly avowed, when we ſaw
" the ſtorm gathering, which was to burſt on
" our devoted country; though our indigna-
" tion roſe high at the authors of our cala-
" mities, it was ſtill more ſtrongly excited
" by the ungenerous conduct of the Colonies,
" in combining with the enemies of Britain
" to ruin their ancient country. It was not
" now a queſtion of right, but of power.
" If America ſhould be independent, and the
" dupe of France, we concluded that Britain
" would be loſt. We ſaw our fleets and
" armies ſent to action; we heard of in-
" activity

" activity and diſgrace with honeſt ſorrow.
" It was not till the Counſels of the K—g
" were inadequate to their own views; it
" was not till the nation felt their ſufferings
" intolerable, that our whole party united
" with the Republicans in ejecting the *Tory*
" Miniſtry. Thoſe great exertions which
" the ſafety of the ſtate required, could only
" ſpring from the people: his M——y gave
" them the Miniſter of their choice, and the
" virtues of L—d R———m aſſigned him
" this honourable ſtation. The diſtreſſes of
" the people called for peace, though their
" ſpirits never can yield to mean conceſſions.
" We wiſhed to recall our ancient allies the
" Dutch; we negociated with France; we
" yielded to the neceſſities of the times, and
" acknowledged the independence of Ame-
" rica. But becauſe we accepted the confi-
" dence of our Sovereign, the Republicans
" have pronounced us deceitful and infa-
" mous: the nation is to be implored to
" puniſh our inſolence, for daring to think
" our talents or our public virtues equal to
" theirs. We pretend not to foreſee events,
" nor to what humilities the calamities of
" our country may reduce it: we can only

" promiſe

" promiſe unremitting ardor in reforming " finances, in checking corruption, and in " promoting merit. We ſhall conſider it as " our duty and our glory rather to periſh in " defending the territories, the rights, and " the honour of Britain, than to ſurvive " them."

— " Heaven and earth will witneſs
" If Rome muſt fall, that we are innocent."

The defences of the parties who at preſent are contending for the adminiſtration of the Britiſh government, will authoriſe concluſions deſcriptive of their particular merits and demerits. When a nation enjoys proſperity, the conteſts of parties are generally unintereſting and illiberal; but when a great and diſtinguiſhed people are in danger of loſing a free and an admired conſtitution by the animoſities of contending factions, the prejudices of every citizen will give way to ſuch deciſions as evidence and juſtice dictate.

It would appear from the conduct of the *Tories*, that the creation of the Junto was an innovation inconſiſtent with the revolution eſtabliſhment, for it degraded the character

of a Britiſh Miniſter to that of an oſtenſible agent, and withdrew from him the confidence which both the nation and foreigners had uniformly repoſed in his power. It appears too that the ſcheme of ſubjecting America to taxes impoſed in England, was ſacrificing the intereſts of the nation to a doubtful and barren claim, in the proſecution of which loſs was certain, advantage impoſſible, and which, in the event, has been attended with the two-fold miſchief of doubling the debt of the nation, and at the ſame time narrowing its revenues.

From the *Republican's* conduct it would appear, that though oppoſition to the introduction of the Junto by the Tories was meritorious, and the patroniſing the American claim of rights conſtitutional and liberal, yet that the continuation of this ſupport, when they had declared themſelves independent, and the allies of *France*, *Spain*, and *Holland*, was criminal and treaſonable. The queſtion *now* was *not*, "is America to be taxed?" but "is the ſovereignty of the Britiſh nation to "be narrowed?" Though laws cannot puniſh the licentiouſneſs of freemen, yet free-

men ſhould learn that liberty has been as frequently ſubverted by factions as by tyrants. The man who can aſſiſt avowed enemies when both the public ſafety and honour are invaded, and can *appeal only* to his paſſions of jealouſy or ambition, deſerts his ſtation, and is an enemy to his country.

From the conduct of the *Whigs* it would appear, that their oppoſition to the Junto aroſe from the fixed principles of the government; that their union with the Republicans was one of thoſe dangerous expedients which the exigencies of the times rather palliate than juſtify. It alſo appears, that their continuing in office was their duty; but that the ſame duty will require of them to be no leſs watchful in preſerving the juſt prerogatives of the King, than the independent privileges of the people. If they imagine that the continuance of freedom is inſured by the intereſt which the multitudes concerned in the funds muſt neceſſarily have in its preſervation, experience will ſoon ſhew them, that a ſhare in the funds produces a timidity that is altogether adverſe to freedom, and diſpoſes the wealthieſt of the

people to dread commotions in the ſtate, much more than corruption in the government.

From the actions and principles of parties, we may form plain opinions of the conduct neceſſary to reſtore the honour and ſafety of the nation.

The Legiſlature are now to decide on the moſt intereſting and important ſubjects which have ever engaged their attention; the reformation of the government, and the re-eſtabliſhment of peace. The one can only ſpring from that liberal conduct, which needs not the diſhonourable ſupports of venal ſlaves, which is free and open, which ſcorns equally the attacks of factions and of factious leaders. Let a Miniſter of Great Britain be upright, active, and decided; then neither factions nor foes can ſnatch from him the confidence of the people, or the honour of reſtoring the dignity of the nation.

To a people who have felt the moſt cruel reverſe of fortune, the renovation of their ancient ſplendor, ſeems a forlorn hope: but fallen as we are in political wiſdom, our very enemies

enemies feel and confeſs that our valour is undiminiſhed. Are the reſources of the nation weakened? and will they recover by ſubmiſſions to enemies, or by a mean and inglorious peace? If we muſt renounce our Colonies, *gracious Heaven!* muſt we ſubmit to aſk their mercy! The cowardly combination of France, Spain, Holland, and America, againſt one ſmall but brave people, is a ſtubborn proof of the opinion they entertained of our power and our reſources. If the enemies of our country ſhall ſtill dread the revenge of Britons when inſtigated by deſpair, and offer a peace which it may be prudent to accept, the ſafety of the nation alone ſhall induce us to acquieſce in this neceſſary meaſure. Will the moſt obdurate party man wound the ſoul of his Sovereign, by adviſing him to renounce, with his territories, the honour of his crown?—*No!*—Poſterity will admire the people who ſhall tell their King, that no enemies ſhall dare to inſult him while they have arms; that though they feel for the public diſtreſſes, no force ſhall reduce a free people to renounce or relinquiſh their independence and their glory.

Parties, indeed, may contend for power—
But the man, or the party alone, who aſſert
their country's rights, deſerve its confidence
and its gratitude.

——Is there not ſome choſen curſe,
Some hidden thunder in the ſtores of Heav'n,
——to blaſt the man
Who owes his greatneſs to his country's ruin?

FINIS.